

756 lar formula formed separate societies. Possibly there were others, but they were not discovered by us. The members of a society carried shields each painted with an identical pattern and all followed the same medicine prescription and possessed the power in common.

The membership of a society was limited—in one case to six, in another to twelve members. Perhaps it was felt that the inclusion of more persons diffused the power so as to weaken its efficiency, or perhaps the six and double-six had peculiar meaning; no society numbered more than that.

As special interest groups we must suspect that they had their ways of exerting social pressure. But in a culture which is now so much a thing of the past, the medicine societies being limited in size and apparently having no governmental import, they have left no clue as to what subversive or other means they might have evoked to satisfy their own particular personal, group, or political ambitions.

THE SMOKE LODGE OR OLD MEN'S SOCIETY

575 Old men who no longer went on the warpath had a special tipi wherein
887 they foregathered at the ending of the day to smoke and talk small talk. This was the Smoke Lodge. It was thoroughly a men's club, an old men's club; no boys or women were allowed to enter. Initiatory rites were not held for new members; when one became old and venerable enough to be satisfied with mellow, reminiscent talk, he just started going to the meetings and was free to come and go as he wished. We have no record of invitation or of rebuff to a new arrival.

When the band was stopping for only a short time at a camp site, the old men did not raise their tipi but were content with simply pressing down a circular spot in the weeds apart from the camp for their Smoke Circle. [36] When the village was more permanently located, if the camp plan was in the crescent form, the Smoke Lodge was raised near the middle; if the tipis were laid out in a row, the Smoke Lodge was said to have been set up to the south and east of the line.

575 Though the group was informally organized, each evening's session was
887 opened with a ritual. The lodge possessed a large common pipe which was
782 in the care of its leader.^a While the lighting of the pipe was in process, there
276 was tabu on spoken words. Absolute silence prevailed. Next to the tipi door, to the right as one entered, sat the fire-tender, a captive Mexican. Opposite the door, in the usual place of a head-man, was the lodge leader with the

^a We were unable to determine how the leader obtained his pipe, whether it was a special pipe which gave with it the leadership, or whether the leader emerged in the manner of peace chiefs and supplied his personal pipe for the usage.

pipe. When the time for smoking had arrived, the leader ordered the fire built up. In the light of its blaze he filled the pipe. The next step was invocation. Holding the pipe to the sky, offering was made to the Sun. This done, a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon the ground—an offering to the Earth. If at any stage of this process the silence was broken, it was necessary to make a fresh start by dumping all the tobacco from the pipe out on the ground and starting anew. Informants did not know of any consequences being visited upon the breaker of the tabu. When finally the pipe was prepared, the fire-tender crossed directly over to the leader and tendered a live coal. With the issuance of smoke the ceremony was done and the old men could lapse into their round of conversation. The pipe was passed among them and carefully smoked until it was burned out. Then after a bit, the refilling and lighting ceremony was again solemnly performed and they were ready for another round of talk. Four times they filled and smoked the pipe out; then they broke up for the night. The fire-tender made first exit through the door. The others followed after in procession, all treading around the tipi to the north. But during the course of the evening a man could make non-ceremonial exit from either side of the door.

The talk turned on matters both amusing and serious; the old men were eclectic in their interests. On occasion they made an amusing turn on such coup-counting bouts as Grinnell reports for the Cheyenne.

... the two bands were ranged on opposite sides of the lodge, facing each other ... When all were ready to begin, he (the umpire) passed a counter to the man sitting at one end of the line. The counter passed from hand to hand until it reached one who had done this thing, when he narrated the circumstances, perhaps mentioning the name of some witness to the deed. ...

... When the coup had been related, the stick which had been passed for it was returned to the umpire, who thrust it in the ground with his right or left hand, according as the winning was by the party to his right or left. ... Whichever side had the most sticks received a feast the next day from the losing side.*

The old Comanches, too, held meetings to decide supremacy among them. A handful of straws served for tally. Straw by straw, the old stags put in the evening asking each other questions of dishonorable or evil-scented nature. "How many times have you been divorced?" "How many times did you turn back from the war path without meeting the enemy?" was another favorite. Or, "How many times did you take a woman on a war party?" And so on into the night. This interesting game is unquestionably a travesty on coup-counting bouts of the Plains Warrior Societies. The

* Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, vol. 1, pp. 78-79.

575 travesty is a burlesque of the values which were held dear by the younger
 887 men who were still actively engaged in war and the ego-maintenance
 521 competition. As sorcery may be looked upon as one weapon of revenge used
 by the old men,¹⁰ so the burlesqued coup counting may be interpreted as an
 equivalent compensatory mechanism.

Comanches of warrior age did not engage in coup-counting bouts in the
 manner described for the Cheyenne by Grinnell.

575 In a more serious way, the Smoke Lodge functioned as a trading post for
 887 gossip and ideas among the old men, much as did the general store in old
 626 New England and rural America.

Concerning matters of general tribal moment, the old men expressed
 their thoughts and apparently made them known to the public by letting
 the peace chief know their consensus. Their influence was advisory; it was
 designed to sway public opinion, but without direct power to mould public
 policy. Post Oak Jim properly tagged the old men in the Smoke Lodge by
 explaining, "they were just like a Chamber of Commerce." They could
 make talk and mayhap make opinion, but they could make no law. In
 some bands, however, they could definitely help the peace chief determine
 the time of camp moving.

That the old men in general, as did the peace chiefs in particular, acted
 as soothers of ruffled tempers, pacifiers of internal dissension, is well attest-
 ed. It was an important factor in the totality of social regulation. And let it
 not be forgotten that in this role they were just as important in keeping
 disputes from reaching the breaking point as is the authorized guardian of
 the law in more complex societies. The chances are that they were more so.

575 In later days, the Smoke Lodge in the Antelope band became the butt
 887 of a pair of mischievous pranksters. Originally there was no foolishness,
 and the old men were respected. But two boys, Leader, and his pal,
 Through, were without respect or restraint. How the old men responded to
 their indignities is revealing.

[754] ¹⁰ The role of sorcery in this respect has been nicely phrased by Professor Ralph Linton.
 "There is abundant evidence that among the Comanche the transition was often a difficult
 one for the individual. Warriors did not prepare for old age, thinking it a better fate to be
 killed in action. When waning physical powers forced them to assume the new role, many of
 them did so grudgingly, and those who had strong magic would go on trying to enforce the
 rights which belonged to the younger status. Such bad old men were a peril to young ones
 beginning their careers, for they were jealous of them simply because they were young and
 strong and admired by the women. The medicine power of the young men was still weak,
 and the old men could and did kill them by malevolent magic. It is significant that although
 benevolent medicine men might be of any age in Comanche folklore, malevolent ones were
 always old." Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), p. 121.

The first escapade of these young hoodlums was to back a colt half way through the door of the Smoke Lodge while the pipe-lighting ceremony was in progress. The old men did not utter a sound of protest—the tabu 575
enjoined silence! Not content with this, the boys tickled the pony with a 887●
stick and caused him to kick wildly, upsetting the old men within. “He tore 522
things up pretty badly.” First mention of this stunt was made by Post Oak Jim. The boys were sons of his uncle and so his classificatory “brothers”; he thought they were very funny indeed. He shook with reminiscent chuckles in recounting the story. That’s It remembers the incident too, and also considers it a fine joke.

But the old men, says That’s It, were “awful sore.” They began heatedly to discuss what should be done to the young men when they caught them. They were trying to figure out “what law they should give them.” Here was an unprecedented situation—an undoubted grievance. A demand had arisen for a decision of policy. A social rule forced to consciousness by its breach, an explicit sanction was in the making—perhaps even a law. And the outcome? In the midst of the argument one old man spoke up.

“Now you old fellows,” he addressed them. “You, too, were boys once. When the sun was shining in the sky, you were mighty nice. When the sun went down and the darkness came, you were devils. Don’t you remember how you were? Boys will be boys.”

They listened. They all thought about how they had behaved. When they thought about it, they all laughed—and let the matter drop. Even when they themselves were the aggrieved, the old men could serve as peace-preservers.

That’s It, in thinking it over, did not know what kind of punishment they would have given the boys if they had gone on in the matter. That was [689]
a point that the old men had not decided. That’s It had no precedent by which to predict their probable action. One step he was sure of. The old men would have gone to talk to the boys’ parents.

If the remainder of Post Oak’s story is true (it was not checked with other informants), the failure of the old men to take action against the boys on that first occasion marked the end of their venerable comfort. Subsequent misdeeds perpetrated upon their old heads included the throwing in of a skunk during the pipe-lighting ceremony, with the result that the smokers were driven from the lodge. On another occasion the jokesters slashed the robes which the members had left outside the tipi. They smeared soft feces on the ground by the doorway and covered the mess with a little dirt. The members, who had to remove their moccasins before entering, stepped into it barefoot. These and other indignities they heaped on the

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heads of the forebearing elders. Indeed, boys will be boys. And peace-making may on occasion father trouble.

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One is forced to wonder if youth would have dared such action before the days of white contact. Was this a sign of cultural disintegration? One suspects so. One cannot give a definite answer, but against the generous indulgence always shown to boys by the Comanche elders, there is to be put the fact that the Smoke Lodge was one of the first Comanche practices to go after white contact. Old men died off. The rising generation did not carry on the practice. The effrontery of the boys may have been a sign of its weakening hold. And in any going culture one may expect the normal human reaction: that what on one occasion may be a joke, an escapade, or a licensed blowing off of steam, will on sufficient repetition become a nuisance or an outrage and be dealt with as such.

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In this survey of associations we have observed that the division of Comanche society into compartmental groupings had not gone very far. Age classes were lacking. The old men in the Comanche Smoke Lodge formed a sort of Council of Elders, but they were not taken too seriously, nor their opinions held to be law. Military groupings were too embryonic to have left their mark; medicine societies were largely lacking in demonstrated legal significance. Where groups did enter into the legal complex we shall see that they were formed about the kinship and friendship bond.

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595 Comparison at this point with a reference to Comanche law from the literature will indicate how much more deeply the stream runs than appears from the surface, and why special study with reference to legal behavior is fruitful. "Polygamy is practised to a great extent—some chiefs having more than ten wives, but inconstancy is the natural result of it, which is frequently punished by cutting off the nose of the transgressor, and sometimes even death; but more frequently the woman escapes unpunished and the seducer is deprived of all his available property, which is yielded to the injured party, by custom, without resistance."¹⁰

In those unfortunate cases in which the defendant was so poverty-stricken as to be unable to pay any damages whatsoever, his opponent had legal recourse to thrashing him on the bare back with a horse whip.

Case 10. *Adultery: Buffalo Robe vs. Cliff*

Informant: *That's It*

Buffalo Robe found Cliff lying with his wife. Since the husband knew that Cliff was too poor to pay him any damages. He took his quirt and started to whip the fellow. The culprit had to stand still and say nothing until Buffalo Robe was finished. Then he went home, his back raw and bleeding.

In later years Cliff used to boast about how he had lain with Buffalo Robe's wife and what a beating he took for it.

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558 It is not that Cliff had become case-hardened: it is the satisfaction an old man derives from re-living and re-telling the pranks of his youth, as did the old men in the Smoke Lodge. As a youth, however, Cliff was horribly disgraced by the whipping. He had been physically and socially debased before the entire tribe. Only great war honors could have reestablished a position for him.

x627 Case 11. *Adultery: Whipping waived by Warrior*

684 Informant: *Post Oak Jim*

"A bunch of Comanches were out raiding one time when some American soldiers caught them off guard. The soldiers got away with most of our horses. My nephew saved just one white horse from the soldiers. It was the only horse left in his band.

"Just after that bad luck, he got caught in adultery with another man's wife. He spoke right up and told the husband he would settle for it, for he admitted he was in the wrong and was willing to make it good. He offered his white horse to the husband—it was the only horse left. The husband was willing to settle it at that, since there were no more horses available. That was a lively horse and very skittish. Catching it was always hard work. This time, all the friends and my relatives joined in chasing the horse to bridle it. One of them finally captured it, but it fell

¹⁰ Neighbors, *The Comanches* (Schoolcraft, *Indians*, vol. 2), pp. 131-132.

The Comanches

561 girls and less definitely for boys. However, the physical passage from childhood to maturity does not necessarily coincide with the social transfer of the individual from one status to the other. Although the actual transition was made more quickly in Comanche society than in our own, where both men and woman remain legally children until long after they are physically mature, clear-cut lines of division between the various groupings were lacking. Age classes were lacking. In the change from boyhood to manhood, for instance, the real test was whether the boy was able to follow the strenuous life of a warrior.

888 The tendency for societies to emphasize the individual's first change in age status and largely ignore the change from adult to old age is due in part to the difficulty of determining the onset of old age. But in certain societies the change from the adult to the old status is made more difficult for the individual by the fact that the patterns for the new status require a different personality. This was true in Comanche society. Although society provided for old people fairly well and treated them with respect, there is abundant evidence that the transition was a difficult one for most individuals. "A brave man," said the Comanches, "dies young."

Women were able to make the change with less difficulty than men, and the line was more clearly discernible. During and before the menopause there were a number of social tabus or restrictions. They could not remain in the same room with a medicine man. Afterwards they were released from restrictions pertaining to the supernatural, and henceforth could handle sacred objects, obtain power through dreams, and practice as shamans.²⁴

● 887 In the case of men, the ascribed status for old age differed radically from that for adults. The adult male was a warrior, vigorous, self-reliant, and aggressive. He took what he could get and held what he had without much regard for the abstract rights of those weaker than himself. A ready willingness to arbitrate differences or to ignore slights was a sign of weakness resulting in loss of prestige. The old man, on the other hand, was expected to be wise and gentle, willing to overlook slights, and, if need be, to endure abuse. It was his task to work for the welfare of the tribe, giving sound advice, smoothing down quarrels, and even preventing his tribe from making new

²⁴ Informant: Medicine Woman; see also Linton, *The Study of Man*, 119.

From Cradle to Grave

enemies. Young men strove for war and honor; old men for peace and tranquility. Warriors did not prepare for old age, thinking it better to be killed in action than to adjust themselves to the status ascribed for old age and to eventual death on the sick bed. When waning physical powers forced them to assume a new role, many did so grudgingly, and those who were able to keep strong medicine attempted to hold the rights which belonged to the younger status. Such bad old men were a peril to young ones beginning their career, for they were jealous of them simply because they were young and strong and admired by the women. The old men could and did kill young men by malevolent magic. "It is significant that although benevolent medicine men might be of any age in Comanche folklore, malevolent ones were always old."²⁵

Old men who were no longer able to go on the warpath had a special tipi, called the Smoke Lodge, wherein they gathered at the end of the day to smoke and talk. No boys or women were allowed to enter. Initiatory rites were not held for new members, and apparently no invitations were sent to prospective members. When one became old enough to be interested primarily in the past, he merely started going to the meetings. The men were free to come and go as they liked. If the camp was not permanently located, the men merely gathered at a convenient place and sat in a circle smoking and talking like a bunch of old gaffers about the cracker barrel. In permanent camps they had a lodge.

Each evening's session was opened with a ritual. The lodge possessed a large common pipe which was in the care of the leader. While the lighting of the pipe was in process, no word could be uttered. Absolute silence prevailed. The leader sat opposite the door. The fire-tender, a captive, sat next to the door, to the right as one entered. The leader lighted the pipe, and then offered invocation. He held the pipe up and prayed to the sun. This done, a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon the ground as an offering to the Earth. If at any stage of the process the silence was broken, it was necessary to start anew. When the pipe was prepared, the fire-tender crossed directly to the leader and tendered a live coal. With the issuance of smoke the ceremony was done and the men could

²⁵ Linton, *The Study of Man*, 118-21.

The Comanches

- 887 lapse into conversation. The pipe was passed among them and smoked until it burned out. Then after a bit, the refilling and lighting ceremony was again solemnly performed and they were ready for another round of talk. Four times they filled and smoked the pipe out; then they dispersed for the night. The fire-tender left first; the others followed in procession, treading around the tipi to the north. But during the course of the evening a man could make nonceremonial exit from either side of the door.

The conversation dealt with matters both trivial and serious. The men exchanged ideas and related the latest camp gossip. They narrated deeds which they had performed in their younger days and stories which they had heard. They engaged in coup-counting games by forming sides and each relating a coup which he had gained. The losing side might have to furnish a feast the next day. At other times they spent the evening asking each other dishonorable and embarrassing questions. "How many times have you been divorced?" "How many times did you turn back from the warpath without meeting the enemy?" They were beyond struggling for prestige, and they made light of the prime-of-lifers to whom prestige meant so much. And although they discussed tribal matters of moment, they had no authority.

- 887 In earlier times the Old Men's Smoke Lodge was respectfully
522 treated, but in later days they received some rough handling by practical jokers among the boys. The most common prank was to close the smoke flaps of their lodge and smoke them out. Once their old war robes with painted coup pictures were slashed by boys. Another time pranksters put excrement in the doorway and covered it with dirt, knowing that the old men always took off their moccasins to enter their sacred lodge. Yet another time, boys stood outside the door and smeared foul stuff in their hair as they came out. And once, as the old men were going through the pipe-lighting ritual and could not holler out, they backed a colt through the door and made it kick and buck. "It tore things up and the old men were awful sore. They began to talk about what they should do to the young men when they caught them, what law they should give them, but one old man spoke up.

"Now you old fellows," he told them, 'you were boys once.

From Cradle to Grave

When the sun was shining you were mighty nice. When the sun went down you were devils. Don't you remember how you were? Boys will be boys.'²⁶ 887 • 522

They all laughed and let the matter drop. After all they were old men—peaceable, and not warriors jealous of their dignity.

Although they were a strong physical race of people, the Comanches were troubled with a number of diseases. Many of their ailments were due to their unbalanced diet, to exposure, and to the vigorous life they led. Among their more serious ailments were pneumonia, colds, rheumatism, wounds, broken bones, intestinal diseases, rattlesnake bites, smallpox, and cholera. The number with weak eyes, partially or completely blind, was appalling. Fevers often resulted from their trips to the east and south. The white intruders brought cholera, smallpox, and syphilis, which swept away many of the people. Epidemics of smallpox took heavy tolls in 1816, in 1839-40, and in the winter of 1861-62. The cholera epidemic of 1849, brought from the East by immigrants on the road to California, possibly resulted in more fatalities than the smallpox plague. In any event, whether from violence, disease, or old age, the end came inevitably to every Comanche as to every man—and the cycle was closed. 164

When the condition of an elderly person became hopeless, he was usually "thrown away" by all except his most faithful relatives and friends; and sometimes even they would desert him. This was not due so much to lack of affection and sympathy as from fear of the evil spirits and his ghost, which were believed to have taken possession of his body. When he felt death drawing near, he made disposition of all his property and retired to a quiet spot to die. After making medicine in preparation, an old man might take his own life, and at least one case is known where a man took the life of his wife by cutting her throat because she was hopelessly ill and lonely. 763 888 [762]

There was not a long delay between death and burial. If possible, burial took place the same day. The body was prepared with great care by anyone who would undertake the job, usually near relatives assisted by a comrade or close friend of the deceased. A woman attended to the body of a woman; a man attended to a man's. When a small child died, it was buried still lashed to its cradle-board. Before 764

²⁶ Informant: That's it.

David G. Burnet's Letters

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Men, whose furrowed [ca. 1818] cheeks and blanched locks palpably indicate what we would call an extreme old age, and who by their own traditionary accounts, have felt the frosts of an hundred winters, will not relinquish the sports of their youth, the hunting of Buffaloes on horseback. The almost unqualified salubrity of the climate they occupy, certainly has a large share in this unusual prolongation of life and activity. Their being altogether debarred, by local remoteness from civilization, from the use of spirituous liquors, is another prominent reason of their healthful condition. How happy would it be, for the abused and degraded aborigines of our country, had they all been equally secluded from access to that baleful poison of the moral and physical man. Their intercourse with their more refined and cultivated neighbors, might in that case have been productive of many benefits to this hapless race, whereas it has been replete with disaster.

B.

[The Cincinnati Literary Gazette, July 3, 1824]

A brief desultory and imperfect vocabulary of the Comanche language; respectfully dedicated to Professor Rafinesque of Transylvania University [Lexington, Ky.]

Too-he-whistee—Man	Tu-he-wheete—Red or color'd men
Whiep—Woman	Hanche—Friend
App—Father	Hanche-ka-a—Enemy
Pe a—Mother	Taa-ve—Sun
Too-a—Son	Mu-ur—Moon
Pate—Daughter	So-co-vete—The Earth
Ta-que-ne-whap—Chief captain	Tasheno—Stars
Pe ee sheamp—Private soldier	Kar-me-ad-tasheno—North or not moving star
Tav-e-vo—Spaniard	Tucan—Night
Carno—American	Ta-bane—Day
Inkernish—English	Oot-sa-inte—Winter or cold
Pavom-pete—White man	Ur-ra-inte—Summer or warm

100 • THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF ILLNESS

578 rationale for witchcraft, especially between males, in the 'nomadic Comanche cul-
754 ture. In a society which emphasized physical prowess, the old and enfeebled were
561 at a definite disadvantage. The older men could not join the younger in the
754 prestigious activities of war, sexual adventuring, and hunting, and they were
561 therefore forced to turn to magic and supernatural means if they desired to con-
554 tinue their futile attempts to compete for social power and prestige with the
558 younger men of the tribe. Since Comanche culture was not oriented to allow an
578 individual to acquire prestige and position through material acquisition alone,
this avenue was also denied the older men.

Factors in the Decline of Witchcraft

754 Perhaps a factor contributing to the lessening incidences of witchcraft, noted
178 by Sanapia even in her own time, can be attributed to the fact that in the post-
561 reservation period the older men of the tribe were able to acquire a certain eco-
556 nomic power through such channels as land allotments and welfare, while at the
578 same time the younger men were being denied their main traditional avenue to
prestige—war. Thus a more tolerable balance developed between the prestige and
social power levels of the young and the old. The woman, whose social position
rose and fell with the male to whom she was attached, also acquired the benefits
of this postreservation phenomenon. A woman could own land like a male, and
with older women this became an attraction to the younger men, men perhaps
born too late to take full advantage of the land allotments. Therefore, an older
and economically more powerful woman could more successfully compete with a
younger woman for available males.

754 However, neither economic power nor supernatural methods can cause a
178 woman to produce offspring after she has reached a certain advanced age. In a
561 moment of anger or spite, a young Comanche woman's invectives directed toward
844 an old woman will inevitably include a caustic reminder to the older woman of
578 her "uselessness" as a woman. Sanapia and many of my female Comanche inform-
ants mentioned the potential dangers which a young woman exposes herself and
her children to when she flaunts her offspring in front of an older woman whose
children have left her. This, in Sanapia's opinion, is the reason for the high degree
of witched infants and why Sanapia immediately accuses an old woman for the
act of witchcraft.

754 Several other factors can be suggested as relevant to the decline of Co-
178 manche witchcraft. With the allotment of lands the various family units within
578 the same band became more isolated and thus any possibility of an act which
361 could motivate an individual to operate witchcraft against another member of that
band became lessened as relatively forced social proximity, as was the case in the
reservation period, became lessened among band members.

754 As the band's economic function was destroyed, the individual family
178 units were compelled to become more independent. Thus, the older members of
887 the Comanche extended families were necessarily allotted tasks as more jobs had
888 to be handled by a smaller number of individuals. In this manner the older people

FACTORS IN THE DECLINE OF WITCHCRAFT 101

served a valuable function to the group and were therefore able to retain a certain amount of prestige. Another factor which no doubt contributed to the raising of the prestige of older Comanches and therefore to the decline in witchcraft was the influence of Christianity with its stress on respect for the aged.

The suggestions which I have offered and which I feel are necessary for an understanding of the relative insignificance of witchcraft among contemporary Comanches are all ultimately rooted in the dynamics of acculturation. Witchcraft has disappeared as an effective means of social control among Comanches as its function has become obliterated by the changes brought about by acculturation with the dominant white society. Nothing served to directly replace the institution of Comanche witchcraft. This type of institution became meaningless as the very foundations for its existence were destroyed by the acculturative phenomenon which served to augment, equalize, and temporally lengthen, through essentially economic means, the levels of social power and prestige obtainable by all Comanche individuals.

123 must stay completely apart from the Comanche women and girls." He
609 explained it this way. Comanche women are supposed to have no com-
562 munications, other than the most necessary, with menfolks other than
their own, and this applied with extra force to white men. Comanche
men held their women to strict account as to their conduct, and a
white man could cause a Comanche woman serious trouble, unawares,
should he try to be friendly. I lived up to this rule in every respect.
Then, in addition, I naturally extended to all Indian women and girls
every courtesy I had been taught to extend to women of my own race.
This, too, could have had some bearing.

837 I could not help but notice Mo-cho-rook. He was a standout in
every way. To start with, he was obviously the oldest of the old In-
dians. He was noticeably smaller than any of the other Indian men.
And what was even more obvious, he had at this time only one wife.
And of all the old fellows, he had by far the youngest wife and the
157 youngest child. He was completely antisocial. I not only never gleaned
123 a smile, but I never even drew a grunt from him, in the five plus years
that I knew him.

On the top of all this, he had about the meanest look, and the
cruellest eyes, I have ever seen on a human. I was later to know Geroni-
mo, who was being held as a prisoner of war at Fort Sill. If anyone
could have run Mo-cho-rook even a close second for looking mean
and cruel, it would have been Geronimo.

The only time he ever came inside the store was when he needed
smoking tobacco. He would have his nickel ready in his hand, would
point to the Bull Durham, and when I handed him the tobacco, he
would hand me the nickel. My fattest smile never brought a change
in his expression. Once he had his tobacco, he would return outside.
I never knew him to stay in out of even the most inclement weather.

142 I soon sorted out his wife. She was a young, large-limbed girl, with
the true Comanche copper color. She had a baby boy, around a year
854 old. He was old enough to be out of the cradle board, but that first
summer he was not walking as yet. He was a healthy-looking little
575 chap and, like all Indian babies, well behaved. I was later to learn
that this child was the only one ever born to Mo-cho-rook by any of
the numerous wives he had had. His squaw nearly always stayed in
our store until they were ready to go home, and she bought all their
452 supplies. He was one of the few Indians who never found it necessary
to run an account until Grass Money time.